# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The *time of trouble is now past*, and things will be restored to their former prosperity and vigour. By "the great measure which the wisdom of Ministers has completed, we may return to objects of in- "dustry and all the blessings of peace. Ireland, instead of being a clog and mill-stone about the "neck of Great-Britain, will, now that peace is made, prove *an inestimable jewel*."——Speech of Lord Westmeath, on the Preliminaries of Peace, Nov. 3, 1801.—See Register, Vol. II. p 1101.



## AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.

TO THE EDITOR.

*Dublin, Oct.* 10, 1803.

SIR,—In the constant perusal which I have given to your truly valuable publication, I perceived with pleasure, that you had extended your observation from the western to the eastern extremity of the British Empire and its connexions. Your detailed knowledge of American affairs has been conspicuous, and your attention to the transactions in India has been always awake. Whether it was the jealousy arising from national feeling, or whether it had been really the fact, I shall not now determine; but it did appear to me, that your labours had not been directed to the affairs of this portion of the United Kingdom so much as the important part it forms of the Empire seemed to me to require.——The letter which appeared in your paper of the 27th of August last, relating to the conduct of the Irish government on the breaking out of the rebellion of the 23d of July preceding, has entirely removed the little discontent which you had excited in my mind. The state of this country seems, at last, to have gained the attention of the public in England, and some portion of the miseries into which the people of Ireland have been plunged has, at last, through the medium of your paper, excited the compassion of the people of Great-Britain, when, perhaps, had they been true to themselves, it would, as against the authors of our misfortunes, have roused their indignation.——That your paper will admit of the complaints of his Majesty's subjects in this part of the United Kingdom is, I do assure you, Sir, from the state of the press here, a discovery to them of no small importance. We have had extended to us the effects of the *safe* politician government, which seems to have taken root in England: and from the darkness with which we have been overshadowed, and from the bitter droppings which have fallen upon our land, it seems as if the *safe* politician was a tree of that class which throw out their broadest leaves, and exude their most blistering gums from the remotest extremities of their branches.——The subject which I have touched upon is, indeed, Mr. Cobbett, well worth the attention of the people of Great-Britain. Great-Britain must now *understand* Ireland, or Great-Britain will perish. Ireland is now manifestly an object of France. France is now manifestly an object of the many in Ireland. If France should gain Ireland—Ireland covering and within a few miles of the western coast of Great-Britain—Great-Britain again covered on the north and east by Holland, the Netherlands, and now unhappily by his Majesty's part of Germany. If France, acquiring the dominion of Ireland should find there three or four hundred thousand ready blooded ruffians (the well-nursed brood of *permitted* rebellion) who would rejoice to be poured (from Donaghadee to Port Patrick, only 12 miles) on the fertility of England. If France should find in Ireland, a horde of men, so far brutalized as to render them more cruel after victory than during the contest for it, and so far civilized as to be capable of receiving all the military skill which European science can teach a soldier. If France should gain such a body of horrible force, and such a strong position in addition to that increase of power which Marquis Cornwallis bestowed on her by his *capitulation* (call it not a *peace*, Mr. Cobbett, I beseech of you), at Amiens—what would become of England herself, not to speak of the Empire? From this view of things, Sir, the good people of England ought to think it now almost manifest, at least very probable, that God did not create Ireland merely to enable a minister to make a lord lieutenant, and to enable a lord lieutenant to make his poor relation a bishop. But the people of England, though they may perceive fully the importance of Ireland, not only as connected with their power, but I may say, with their existence, have not been without possessing some causes of consolation, and even some reasons for confidence on the subject.——Doctor Addington, a gentleman, who I find has

arrived at consequence and rank in England, by what means or instruments I am at too great a distance to have discovered, has given to the public a direct opinion on the matter. The Doctor, Sir, in his speech of the 28th of July, on the introduction of the Irish bills, after having stated the rebellion to have broken out in Ireland, expresses his full confidence of the future safety of that kingdom; "when he consi- "ders that it is under the government of "Lord Hardwicke, a nobleman against "whose administration for two years past "*not a murmur of complaint has been heard.*" You will observe, Sir, that as to Lord Hardwicke, the Doctor's applause is merely negative,—"not a murmur of complaint has "been heard."——Now, Sir, if I should state to you, and offer, if it be denied, to prove it by incontestible evidence, that the press in Ireland, is, by the application of the public money, bought up, and under the direct control of government;—that in the capital of Ireland not a newspaper can be found, nor even a single printer, who will publish any article which might in any degree affect the nerves of Mr. Marsden: if it should be found (and you well know the fact, Mr. Cobbett), that during the months of May, June, July, and August last, the sole employment in England, of a person high in the Irish department, was, not to *silence* certain of the Irish * * * * * * * — that perhaps would have been impossible; —but to do that which was not nearly so difficult—to procure them to assert "the "thing which was not."—To procure certain Irish * * * * * * * to assert, that Ireland was *universally* loyal and tranquil, and to gain credit with the good people of England for the truth of that assertion: if it should so be found, that, at the very time when that high official person was so employed, he had in his pocket, from a quarter too respectable not to be attended to, a minute detail of the conspiracy which has since broken out into open rebellion;—a detail describing the objects of it, the persons employed in it, and the projected time and manner of its execution: if it should be found that this information was not merely neglected by that high official person, but that every means was diligently used to suppress its contents, and to prevent any knowledge of its existence being acquired by the public: if it should be found that this deplorable contempt of information was followed by a still more deplorable negligence of preparation; if it should be found that after a repeated general warning, and repeated particular information of conspiracy and projected rebellion, the *preparation* (Lord Castlereagh asserted in the debate which I have mentioned above, that the Irish government had been *prepared*) in some places consisted of troops without ammunition, and in others of ammunition without troops;—that with all this asserted preparation, venerable rank and youthful spirit were equally exposed to the pike of the ruffian;—that his Majesty's judges and his Majesty's officers became equally an unresisting prey, by being left in the bosom of apparent peace, the one not forewarned and the other not fore-armed;—that with all this asserted preparation, one body of rebels was stopped only by the gallantry of a few soldiers who rushed, having no orders from head quarters, from their beds in the barrack, without either shoes or stockings, taking what officers chance threw in their way to head them: if it should be found that another body of rebels, which was destined to attack the Castle of Dublin, was stopped only by the dread of six pieces of artillery, which they were told were in the Castle: and if it should now be found, that though it be true there were, at that time, six pieces of artillery there; yet, that it is equally true, that there were then but two artillery men within the whole city, and those two discharged invalids; and that it is also equally true, that there was not one cartridge of either round or grape shot, within two miles of the aforesaid six pieces of artillery: if it should now be found, that though the civil war has for a time ceased between the rebels and government, yet that a civil war has broke out among the members of the government itself;—that the friends of Mr. Marsden and the friends of General Fox (poor Lord Hardwicke is not so much as named) are in open hostilities of altercation with each other in every company,—the friends of Mr. Marsden asserting, that all the information government possessed was laid before the commander of the forces, and that it was then his duty to have his garrison prepared; and the friends of Gen. Fox, on the other hand, asserting, that although the information was laid before him by Mr. Marsden, yet it was at the same time, accompanied by a declaration that there was not one word of truth in the whole of the information, nor the slightest ground whatsoever for alarm: if it should be found that such is the influence of Mr. Marsden, that he has been able to make a barrister, without any other recommendation than that of being the friend of Mr. Marsden, Attorney-General;—and that Mr. Marsden was able to prevail upon that At-

torney-General, in a trial when the issue before the court was the treason of Donnelly and Tyrrell, to introduce a collateral issue, in which the merits and manners of his friend the aforesaid Mr. Marsden were to be tried; and that in pursuance of trying such collateral issue, he, the King's Attorney-General, did, for a long space of time, to wit, one hour, examine one CLARKE, a witness, touching the good humour, affability, and sweetness of temper of the aforesaid Mr. Marsden, on and upon the said 23d day of July, which was in the year of our Lord 1803: and though several of the aids-de-camp to the Lord Lieutenant and other sober and skilful bye-standers, did declare themselves thoroughly satisfied with the evidence so given of the said Mr. Marsden's good humour, &c. yet that the jury obstinately refused to give any verdict upon such collateral issue: and that the said Mr. Marsden, finding the jury would not give a verdict on his merits, did in Saunders's newspaper of the 16th of Sept. last, publish a detail of the evidence in his own favour, wherein it appeared, that he Mr. Marsden, a retired barrister, and one Mr. Clarke, a cotton manufacturer, did, on the aforesaid 23d of July, deliberate, and debate, and determine on sundry military questions, and of certain military positions, whereby, in the military opinions of the aforesaid persons, the safety of the City of Dublin would be insured by placing a serjeant's guard at Palmerstown, five miles distant from the said City!!!——If you should have heard, Mr. Cobbett, Lord Castlereagh assert that the Irish government was prepared with means to defeat the conspiracy, and that *a letter* should now be laid before you, *written by Lord Hardwicke himself to Mr. Foster* late speaker of the Irish Commons, in which Lord Hardwicke, in direct terms, admits that his government *had been surprised!*—If it should be found that "such things are," and that Doctor Addington's assertion of the government of Lord Hardwicke "that not a murmur of complaint has been heard against it" be true, must not you, Mr. Cobbett, conclude that the Irish press has been purchased, and that the Irish * * * * * have been *dealt* with, as I have already stated, or that the people of Ireland are lineally descended from the Capadocians, of notorious memory, and have also considerably degenerated from their contemptible ancestors?

But give me leave to quit this scene of military inefficiency, and turn your eyes for one moment to the civil department of this devoted country, which has been long since marked as a

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——In the eyes of *safe* politicians, economy is some consolation for weakness; and your safe politicians and those who support them, act as if they thought that frugality and *tin-man* purity of government were full compensation for the loss of public dignity, and the decay of national strength. But, Sir, those men who are contented to repose under the shade of a safe politician's branches, would probably be roused a little from their quiescence, if they were to know that to this deplorable pretension of the desk in this country to military arrangement, and more deplorable incapability of any military exertion, there is joined the most abandoned vigour of civil profusion.——I beseech of you, Mr. Cobbett, to call upon parliament to enquire, whether, in this time, when every shilling should be appropriated to the demands of the army, immense sums of money have not been, in Ireland, wantonly and disgracefully lavished upon ridiculous alterations and fantastical improvements at the country palaces of the Lord Lieutenant and his secretary; and whether more money has not, within a very short space of time been profligately expended upon these puerile whimsies than would pay, clothe, and maintain a regiment of a thousand men, officers and all, for three years. I beseech of you, Sir, to hint at the disclosure which may result from an inquiry, whether offices of great trust (almost, I may say, if not entirely, judicial) have not been, in Ireland, lately bought and sold, with the knowledge and under the negotiation of government. If the Nimrod of the tin-man game should not understand me, let him be told to enquire how Mr. Redmond Barry came in this kingdom by his office of commissioner of accounts?——I have mentioned, Sir, the means by which the appointment of the present Attorney-General of Ireland was procured. But there are some circumstances attending that appointment on which it is necessary to trouble you, and, perhaps, for a few lines, to solicit you to wade through the dulness of some detail.—Sir John Stewart was the late Attorney-General for Ireland. He is a gentleman by his birth, has received a most liberal education, and manifests the advantages of both these circumstances, by the integrity of his morals and the correctness of his manners. His private fortune is ample, and he represents

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in parliament, one of the richest and most populous counties in Ireland. Such a man was by no means likely to suit Mr. Marsden, nor indeed, any *safe* politician. It is easy for a mean government to disgust a *gentleman* with office, and, therefore, it was easy for the present government to determine Sir John Stewart to resign. He did resign. This made room, and the friend of Mr. Marsden was recommended to the office. But, as the friend of Mr. Marsden would probably be called on for the performance of services which no Attorney-General was ever yet called on to perform, so it was reasonable he should be paid in a way in which no Attorney-General ever yet was paid. This however, required some invention. It was difficult to put an increase of £2,000 or £3,000 per annum on the civil list, because the civil list is limited, and the money is appropriated by parliament. But, Mr. Marsden, though dull, is not without invention where profit is concerned. A miser's wit is readily sharpened, when the cutler has a golden wheel. There is, in Ireland, a law office called "Counsel to "the Commissioners of Revenue." Its name speaks its purpose. For several years past two gentlemen of the bar have been generally employed in that department. Many intelligent persons have questioned the necessity of employing even two counsel in the office, and have considered a second as a mere addition of patronage, loading the public with a double and an useless expense. The appointments have, however, been acquiesced in. The office produces in fees, &c. about £2,000 per annum to each of the gentlemen. Now, Sir, let me open to you the honest contrivance of Mr. Marsden. Immediately on the appointment *of his* pliant friend to the office of Attorney-General, an official letter came from the secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, addressed to the commissioners of the revenue, and directing them to place the Attorney-General as a THIRD counsel upon their books, and, upon the same footing as to all fees, as the two former counsel to the Commissioners had before been, whereby for Mr. Marsden's Attorney-General there are now THREE counsel to the Commissioners, and the public is burdened with an expenditure now trebled in amount. Will the fact be questioned? The letter now remains an official document in the Custom-house of Dublin. Let any member of Parliament move that the proper officer do lay it before the house. My credit with you, Sir, and the public, shall stand or fall by the production of that paper. But, it will be asked, why did Mr. Marsden resort to such a contrivance? I have already stated, that a great addition of salary could not be placed on the civil list for the Attorney General, but by act of Parliament, and so the job would, of course, be disclosed to the public. But the emoluments of the counsel to the Commissioners are paid out of the *gross* revenue, while it remains in the hands of the Collectors, before any payment is made by the Collectors into the Exchequer, and consequently the charge never appears as an issue from the Exchequer, or among the expenses of Government: only the *net* revenue, after deducting the charges of management, is paid into the Exchequer. This job, therefore, is placed under the head of management, the *gross* amount of which, under the title of *revenue incidents*, alone appears. By this means the *particulars* of the charges are kept from public observation, as they are multifarious, complicated, and variable. But, to render this transaction more nefarious, it is, Sir, a complete pension without authority of Parliament, no duty whatsoever being performed for it. Will the assertion be denied? Let the proper officer lay before the House a list of the fees paid to the present Attorney-General since the letter was sent, and under its direction, and also an account of what revenue trials the Attorney-General has ever attended, or what revenue cases he has ever returned with opinions upon them. I am sure this last paper will appear a blank.—— But I shall weary you, Mr. Cobbett, (I am sure I have already wearied myself) before I shall have gone through one-tenth of the instances I could produce of this petty profligacy. Petty in its integral parts, but monstrous in its aggregate, and scandalous in its example.——Thus you can account, Mr. Cobbett, why, upon an awful trial for high treason, an Attorney-General could be found, who would debase the dignity of his high office, running off at a tangent from the solemn issue before the court, and hunting out witnesses whose testimony should give him a pretence for pronouncing a panegyric upon a miserable clerk.

Thus it is a considerable kingdom, the right arm of the empire, upon a change of parties, is handed over to Lord Hardwicke in order to enable Mr. Addington, by the delivery, to procure some support in Parliament, and to enable Lord Hardwicke, by the possession, to provide for the poor relations of his family. If these were not the objects, let it be stated what were the circumstances in the character, particular talent, particular knowledge, or general repu-

tation of Lord Hardwicke, which marked his destination for *Ireland*. The imbecility of Lord Hardwicke is, however, propped up by the official *habits* of Mr. Wickham. But it became necessary for Mr. Wickham to attend his Irish flock while they were in England: and I dare say, when they appeared, some political shepherd may have put the question—*Dic mihi Damæta cujum pecus?* Poor Lord Hardwicke, therefore, in this lonely wild, was left to his own devices, and he accordingly reposed himself in the bosom of Mr. Marsden, the Clerk. Such consequences followed as necessarily must follow such circumstances. In an awful hour of trial the King's revenue is wasted in ridiculous profusion, or appropriated, by mean hands, to pettty, but, therefore, not less infamous jobs. A country "sore from civil broils," has become gangrened by unskilful treatment. Rebellion has broken out even in the capital. Eight months of preparation of arms and machinery of war has been proved by Government themselves on the trials for high treason, to have existed within two hundred yards of their own residence, not unknown, certainly, but as certainly not attended to. The 23d of July discovered to a gallant army that a safe politician government might reduce them to behold their officers slaughtered in their presence, without the possibility either of prevention or revenge. The 23d of July shewed to the respectable bench of judges, the heads of the law, their beloved and venerable chief abandoned in a dream of peace, in the midst of the capital, to the pikes of merciless ruffians:—in that capital, in the centre and fortress of which, with a garrison of four thousand men, and a large body of loyal yeomen, Mr. Marsden, the Clerk, then sat trembling; and from which capital his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant had, at five o'clock in the evening, very prudently taken his departure; had gone to his seat in the park; had doubled his guard there; and returned very gallantly the next morning to the city, escorted by a regiment of dragoons, to receive from the hands of Mr. Marsden, a list of the killed and wounded on the preceding day.

But, Sir, it were well if this were all.—— I presume not to touch the feelings of a gallant officer, by making his character, either by praise or censure, the subject of anonymous observation; but I must suppose General Fox to have been perfectly equal to his command, by his appointment to it. General Fox came over here early in the year, and very properly employed the spring and summer in a minute and military examination of the country, where he was to act, and of the troops, which he was to command. Every one knows, that without a local knowledge of the country where he is to act, and a personal knowledge of the troops under his orders, the talents of an officer can avail but little: and so far, General Fox, by wisely employing his own time and the summer season, became qualified for his station. But now, as there was a fault on the 23d of July, and that fault lay *somewhere*, some sacrifice must be made. The fault lay between Mr. Clarke, the Cotton-man, Mr. Marsden, the Clerk, and General Fox—for as to poor Lord Hardwicke, he was safe at the Park, entirely removed both from political responsibility and from personal danger. That, then, is to be done, which one must expect would naturally be done by such men. General Fox is, at the moment previous to invasion, to be sacrificed, in order to preserve the military reputations of the Cotton-man and the Clerk; and Lord Cathcart is, we understand, to come in the place of General Fox. Now, without presuming to measure the military talents of Lord Cathcart, but supposing them, as he has been selected by the same Government, to be equal to those of General Fox, he is to come to his command immediately previous to the probable moment of action, without knowledge of the country in which he is to act, or of the troops of which he is to have the command, and the officer is to be removed who has made both the subjects of his peculiar attention. These are the results of a Government of *safe* politicians. And so God bless you, Mr. Cobbett, and God protect us during the winter.——I am yours, &c.

JUVERNA.

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EDINBURGH MEETING.

*Sketch of what took place at a Meeting of the Lieutenancy, the Heritors, and Justices of the Peace of the County of Edinburgh, held in the Parliament-House in the City of Edinburgh, on Tuesday the 4th of October*, 1803, *his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Lieutenant, in the Chair.*

HIS GRACE stated, that in pursuance of the resolutions of last meeting, he had written to Mr. Yorke, the Secretary of State, communicating the sentiments of the county respecting the further enrolment of those volunteers who had offered their services; and to that letter he had received an answer, acquainting him, that Government had acquiesced in the measure that those

volunteers should be raised and trained to the use of arms.

Mr. Sheriff Clark stated, that it was proper it should be made known, that the subscription which had been raised by the county was to be applied in providing all the necessaries requisite for this corps, in the same manner as those other corps whose services had been accepted by Government. ——This matter, which belonged principally to the Lieutenancy, being finished,

Lord Meadowbank rose, and said, he felt his mind so powerfully impressed with the situation of public affairs at the present moment, that he could not refrain from delivering his sentiments; but although, said his Lordship, I am frequently in the habit of speaking in public within these walls, yet the importance of the subject upon which I am now about to address your Grace, and this meeting is such, that I feel some hesitation in doing so, and am not without apprehension that I may not be able to deliver myself in terms suitable to the object I have in view, and so as to be understood by your Grace and the other gentlemen who compose this meeting.—— His Lordship proceeded to observe, that it was with satisfaction he learnt that *Government had acquiesced* with the views and sentiments of this county, by agreeing to allow the enrolment of those volunteers who had come forward with the offers of their services. *He had, however, observed a circular letter in the newspapers, in which it was stated, that the offers of service made by the people of the country had far exceeded any expectations which Government had formed upon that subject, and that this was assigned as a reason why there was not a sufficiency of arms for all. But why the Government should not have expected this of the people excited his surprize, especially when it was considered that the situation of the country was such that we were called upon to fight for the preservation of all that was dear to us, our liberties and independence as a free nation.* At the present crisis, it was of the utmost consequence, that the people should be completely armed. It was of use that the enemy should know this, and also that they were armed with such instruments as the enemy had never been in the practice of using, such as pikes and spears. This would do much to intimidate the force of the invaders. It would alarm and appall them, and the dread of encountering such a species of defence would make them desist from so hazardous an attempt.——But, passing from this, his Lordship said, what he had principally in view was to call the attention of this meeting to the present state of the maritime defence of the eastern coast, concerning which he could not help thinking there was such a degree of neglect manifested as was highly blameable. He observed, that to the southern part of the island, the most vigilant attention was very properly paid to guard the coast against every apprehension of invasion; but, with regard to this coast, all the means of defence which we had consisted in a forty-four gun frigate, and he was uncertain whether any thing more was to be added. *He could not pretend himself to be a competent judge of the nature of the force best calculated for the defence of the Frith of Forth, and the eastern coast of Scotland; but he had conversed with gentlemen of high professional knowledge, and who were fully able to speak upon these subjects, and it was their opinion, that large fleets and heavy vessels were by no means adapted to this service. Smaller vessels, which could be easily conveyed from one point to another, were preferable, because they could not only be useful in defending against any attack, but in case of the enemy attempting to land men in boats, they could be brought to act against them with superior advantage. In this opinion he could state the Trinity House entirely acquiesced, and a* MEMORIAL TO THAT EFFECT WAS TRANSMITTED TO GOVERNMENT, BACKED BY VERY HIGH AUTHORITY, BY AN AUTHORITY THAN WHOM THERE WAS NONE HIGHER OUT OF OFFICE. *But notwithstanding of this, no attention had been paid to it; and this appeared to him the more extraordinary, because at the present moment there were vessels in Leith harbour, the Greenlandmen, excellently adapted for that service, lying idle and laid up for the winter.*——If, said his Lordship, we take into consideration the enemy we have now to contend with, the animosity he bears towards this country, the extent of coast he commands, the means of attack he has in his power, by the ally he has obtained in Holland, or rather I may say by the conquest and subjugation of Holland now under his controul, and by which he is enabled to act with tenfold energy, we shall find that the north east coast requires more attention than Administration seem to be aware of.——Occupied, as I am, said his Lordship, in the duties of my station as a Judge, I have found myself unable to devote so much of my time as I could have wished, to attend to a matter of so high importance as this; but there are times so peculiar in their circumstances as to require that even those important duties should give way to the higher considerations which may

call for attention; and if ever there was a period which demanded this sacrifice, it is the present. I did, however, defer the mature consideration of this subject until the close of the session; but having since that time given to it all the deliberate attention of which I was capable, I feel myself called upon to state what occurs to my mind concerning it. When I look around me at present, I see this meeting composed of Judges, Professors in the University, and of other Gentlemen whose duties require that they should enjoy the most perfect tranquillity in discharging them. But I ask any man what tranquillity can they possess whilst this metropolis, and the whole eastern coast of Scotland, is suffered to remain in so defenceless a state? Can they go to bed with tranquil minds, who know not but the alarm of an enemy may arouse them in the morning? Is that the situation in which this country is to be allowed to remain? If so, how different is it from the opinion entertained by that great and eminent statesman, Mr. Pitt, whose name I can never mention but with the highest respect; he said, that the country ought to be kept in that state of preparation and defence that every man might, when he retires to rest, recline his head upon his pillow with tranquillity.——*This city is the residence of the High Courts of Justice, the seat of the University, of the public banks, and the resort of gentlemen of rank and property; an attack made upon it could not fail of being attended with the most baneful consequences. The city of Glasgow also, where there is so much commercial capital, would feel the sad effects of the landing of an enemy here. The neighbouring counties, and the whole coast, would likewise experience the dreadful consequences of such an event*; and *shall all this be left, as* IT CERTAINLY IS AT PRESENT, OPEN TO THE ATTACKS OF OUR DECLARED ENEMY.——Shall the whole attention of Government be paid to the south coast, and this left entirely defenceless? He could state, from the same authority to which he formerly alluded, one to whom upon a former occasion this country was indebted for its salvation, that *in order effectually to guard the eastern coast, there should be a sufficient force of vessels to cruize between Woitby, northward to Fifeness, as far as Peterhead, the rendezvous to be in the Frith of Forth. Thus, if a storm should compel them to leave their cruizing station, and the enemy, taking advantage of that, should come out of their harbours, these vessels would be ready to attack them when they came upon our coast.* BUT THOUGH ALL THIS HAS BEEN REPRESENTED TO GOVERNMENT, NO STEP HAS YET BEEN TAKEN FOR OUR DEFENCE; A 44 GUN FRIGATE IS OUR ONLY MEANS OF SECURITY, AND SHE LIES AT ANCHOR IN LEITH ROADS.——Such being the case, it is, said his Lordship, my opinion, that this county ought to present an address to our most gracious Sovereign, humbly and respectfully stating the defenceless state of the coast, and expressing our hopes that his Majesty would take it into his most gracious consideration. With this view I have drawn a few resolutions, which I beg leave to read to the meeting.——His Lordship here read the resolutions, which went at great length into a detail of the situation and defenceless state of the eastern coast of Scotland, and pointed out the different stations where it might be necessary to have an increased maritime force; as also the species of force best calculated for the purpose.——After his Lordship had finished reading the resolutions, he observed, that in adopting the line of conduct he had now done, he was actuated only with a desire of procuring for the country that attention of ministers to its security which he thought they had *shamefully neglected*; he at the same time disclaimed all idea of faction, it was what he never approved of, and least of all would he wish to exhibit even the appearance of it upon the present occasion. It also, he said, became him to state, that whatever odium might attach to the observations he had now made, or to the resolutions he had submitted to their consideration, that odium must fall all upon himself; for he was bound to declare, that he had not consulted with any person in or out of this meeting upon the subject, not even with those whose opinion upon matters of this kind he might sometimes be inclined to have. It was therefore to himself alone that the odium, whatever it shall be, must wholly attach.——His Lordship having given in a copy of the resolutions to the Clerk, sat down.

The resolutions having been read over by the Clerk, his Grace the DUKE OF BUCCLEUGH rose, and said, that he *thought it proper for him to state, in the present stage of the business, that* SOME TIME AGO, *he, along with the Lord Provost of Edinburgh had transmitted a memorial to Government, upon the situation of the defence of the Frith of Forth*; that although NO ANSWER HAD YET BEEN RETURNED TO THEIR APPLICATION, it was probable that an answer might be received in a few days. This he thought it

was proper for him to inform the meeting of, in order to shew that so important an object had not been overlooked.

Lord Chief Baron rose and said, that he had listened to the statement of the learned Judge, and also to the resolutions which he had offered to the meeting. He, however, felt himself inclined to recommend the adoption of a mode similar to that which had been resorted to by the last meeting of the county. Upon that occasion a motion was suggested by his learned friend, (Lord Hermand) something similar to that which was now proposed, respecting the enrolment of volunteers. He however took the liberty then of recommending, that before adopting that mode, application should be made to his Majesty's ministers to acquaint them of the sentiment of the county respecting the raising of these corps, and he was happy to observe that the desire of the county had been acquiesced in. He begged leave to recommend that the same line of procedure should be followed upon the present occasion, and he hoped the learned Judge would consent to withdraw his motion. He knew Mr. Yorke to be a gentleman *of talents* and of business, and he had no doubt that proper attention would be paid to any application on the part of the county The object of the motion was undoubtedly of great consequence to the safety of the coast, and of the metropolis, and would certainly meet his approbation; but the resolutions, from the little attention he had been enabled to give them, appeared to him to go rather too much into detail, and before he could give them his support, he thought they might require some alterations. As, however, the Government had evinced so much readiness to acquiesce with the sentiments of the county upon the late occasion, he thought that the same measures should be adopted in this, the more especially as his Grace the Lord Lieutenant had informed the meeting that a memorial that subject had been drawn up and ... smitted by him, in conjunction with the Lord Provost of the city. He would therefore request the learned Judge to withdraw his motion for the present, and in place of those resolutions, to substitute a general resolution of the following purport, viz.—"That his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh "having informed them that he, in con"junction with the Lord Provost of Edin"burgh, had transmitted to his Majesty's "ministers a memorial, stating the import"ance of speedily appointing a stronger "maritime force for the defence of this "coast, *the meeting* UNANIMOUSLY *agree in* "*the necessity there was for making such a* "*representation*, and in hoping it would be "productive of the desired effect;"—which passed unanimously, and the meeting adjourned.

## PUBLIC PAPER.

*Official Declaration of Neutrality of the Court of Portugal, made by the Court of Lisbon, on the 14th of June, 1803, signed by the Prince Regent.*

It having been the constant object of my paternal wishes and royal dispositions to invariably maintain the pacific relation, subsisting between me and those powers to which I am allied and in amity; and resolving in the present circumstances of Europe to establish those principles which ought to regulate the inviolable system of neutrality which I propose to observe, in case (which God avert) a war should be commenced between powers who are my friends and allies, and having in view how much it is for the benefit of humanity and tranquillity of my dominions and subjects, to remove all and every dispute which might result from a want of knowledge of the regulations tending to obtain the ends which I propose. I am pleased to declare that the cruizers of the Belligerent powers shall not be admitted into ports of my estates and dominions, nor the prizes made by them or by men of war, frigates, or any other ships of war, whatsoever, without any other exception but that by which the laws of nations rendered hospitality indispensible: with this condition, notwithstanding, that in the same ports the sale or unloading of said prizes will not be permitted should they be brought in under the above-mentioned clause, nor shall they be permitted to delay longer than is necessary to avoid the danger or to receive those innocent helps which may be necessary—thus re-establishing and putting in full force the observance of the decree of the 30th of Aug. of 1780, by which this subject was determined. Let the Council of War thus understand and have it executed, expediting immediately the necessary orders to the governors and commanders of provinces, fortifications, and maritime parts, in conformity to this decree.

## FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Report *of the* Minister of War *to the* Consuls *of the* French Republic, *relative to the* captured French Standards found at Hanover. *Dated Paris, 5 Vendémiaire, An.* 12.

Citizen Consuls,——General Mortier has sent to Paris nineteen pair of colours and sixteen standards, taken at different periods by the Hanoverian troops from the French, and laid up in the grand arsenal of Hanover.——The greater part of these trophies, torn, stained with blood, and consisting only of tatters, shew how dearly the enemy must have paid for them.——A standard representing on both sides a sun, had been taken on the 11th September, 1709, at the battle of Malplaquet, when the army of the allies, superior in numbers and commanded by the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince Eugene, obtained over the French, led on by Villars and Bouffleurs, a victory so long disputed.——A single tri-colour standard, with the motto "Liberty or Death" had belonged to a republican battalion at the commencement of the

war. The part of the silk on which the name of the battalion should have appeared has been cut away.——Other inscriptions refer to the affairs of Veltingen, of Langhensalza, of Villinghausen, of Minden, and the dates of 27th June, 1743; 1st June, 1758; 1st August, 1759; 15th February and 16th June, 1761; and 24th June, 1762. The remainder of standards and colours appear to belong to the same epochs, and to have been lost in the unfortunate actions which followed the battle of Rosbach.——Thus they recall the war of 1755, begun by the English without any previous declaration, and signalised by an assassination, that of Jumonville. They recall successes very little honourable to the enemy, since they were in a great measure owing to the perfidy which violated the Convention of Closterseven. They recall the weakness which then reigned in the councils of the French government, and which at last consented to the ignominious treaty of 1763.——In the very beginning of a new war, undertaken to avenge the faith of treaties, to punish perfidy, and to wash out the many insults offered to the French name, we see the monuments of our antient misfortunes changed in our hands into monuments of glory. We may now place, with pride, these colours which we have recovered, in the midst of those taken from the enemy, with which French valour has decorated the dome of the invalids. More than one veteran recognising, with emotion, the standard under which he had fought, which he had perhaps stained with his blood, will bless those who have made an ornament of his last asylum.—The new trophies, added to those which ten years of victory had accumulated, are the presage to Frenchmen of the fresh successes promised them by the justice of their cause, the heroism of their warriors, and the genius of him who commands them.——I have the honour to propose that government shall order the colours sent home by General Mortier to be hung up in the Temple of the Invalids, with the following inscription:—

—— Signa nostris restituit sacris
Direpta Parthorum superbis
Postibus.——Hor.

(Signed) Alex. Berthier.

## DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

His Majesty's Proclamation for convening Parliament on the 22d of November, 1803.

George R.——Whereas our Parliament stands prorogued to Thursday the third day of November next: We, with the advice of our Privy Council, do hereby publish and declare, That the said Parliament shall be further prorogued on the said third day of November next to Tuesday the 22d day of November next: And we have given order to our Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom called Great Britain, to prepare a commission for proroguing the same accordingly. And we do further hereby, with the advice aforesaid, declare our Royal will and pleasure, that the said Parliament shall, on the said 22d day of November next, be held and fit for the dispatch of divers urgent and important affairs: And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs, of the House of Commons, are hereby required and commanded to give their attendance accordingly at Westminster on the said twenty-second day of November next.——*Given at our Court at St. James's, the twelfth day of October, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three, in the Forty-third Year of our Reign.*

General Orders *for all the* Officers *appointed to the battalions* of the Army of Reserve, *and the* second Battalion *of the regiments of the* Line, *to* join *their regiments before the* 1st. of November. *Dated Horse-Guards, October* 13, 1803.

It is his Majesty's Command, that all Officers appointed to the Battalions of the Army of Reserve, and to the Second Battalions of the Regiments of the Line which have received men from that Corps, shall forthwith join their respective Regiments. His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief will lay before his Majesty the names of Officers belonging to these Battalions, who shall not have joined before the 1st of next month, (whose absence is not satisfactorily accounted for throught their Commanding Officers,) in order that they may be superseded. Officers, on being appointed to any of the Regiments above-mentioned, are required immediately to report themselves to Lieutenant-General Hewitt, at his Office, No. 6, Suffolk-street, Charing-cross, from whom they will receive further instructions.——By his Royal Highness's command,

Harry Calvert, Adjutant General.

## INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.——The Albanians, who commenced the revolt in Egypt, have, since their junction with the Mamelukes, submitted themselves entirely to the direction of the Beys. The mass of the people in Egypt is favourable to their cause; and, from the great success which they have already obtained, there can scarcely be any doubt that the whole province will soon be brought under their authority.——The civil war in Arabia still continues: Medina, it is now said, is in possession of the Turks, but Mecca is held by a Sheeriff under Abdul Wachab, who has retired into the desert to re-inforce his troops.——Accounts which have been recently received from America, corroborate the rumours which lately prevailed in the ports of the Mediterranean, that some acts of hostility had taken place between the subjects of the Emperor of Morocco and of the Dey of Algiers and the citizens of the United States.——Great alarm prevails among the English merchants at Lisbon, in consequence of the hostile influence which France has obtained over Portugal. A meeting of the factory was held for the purpose of considering what measures were necessary to be pursued; and it was determined that all British property ought immediately to be embarked. Private letters state that his Majesty's Consul had formally recommended that every thing should be in such a state as to be ready for an immediate removal; as it was probable that it would not much longer be safe to remain there. Gen. Lasnes, it appears, has

dined with the Prince Regent, who with his consort were sponsors to one of the Ambassador's children, who was christened at the Royal Palace on the 29th of September. ——The foreign papers continue to speak of the existence of a negotiation between some of the great continental powers for restoring the free navigation of the Elbe and the Weser; and some of these papers assert that this negotiation has also the pacification of England and France for its object.—— The anniversary of the French Republic was celebrated throughout France, without any splendid shows or extraordinary festivities, either in the capital or the departments.——The prefect of the police at Paris has reported to the Grand Judge, that, during the last year, four hundred and ninety men and one hundred and sixty-seven women comitted suicide in that metropolis; eighty-one men and sixty-nine women were murdered; six hundred and forty-four divorces took place; one hundred and fifty-five murderers have been executed; twelve hundred and ten persons were condemned to the gallies, the pillory, or chains, sixteen hundred to hard labour and imprisonment, and sixty-four marked with hot irons: during the same period, twelve thousand and seventy-six public women were registered, and paid for the protection of the police; fifteen hundred and fifty-two kept mistresses were noted at the prefecture; and three hundred and eight brothels were licensed.

DOMESTIC.——On the 5th inst. Redmond, the Irish traitor was tried and condemned, and on the next day was executed, as were, also, Mackintosh and Keenan who had been previously convicted. They all confessed their guilt, before they were executed; and Redmond acknowledged that he had held an official station under the provisional government.——A commission was opened at Downpatrick on the 10th inst. and another at Carrickfergus on the 13th.— On the 12th a proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant offering rewards for the apprehension of the following persons accused of high treason:—W. Dowdall, J. Allen, N. Stafford, T. Wilde, and J. Mahon, of Dublin; W. Hamilton, of Enniskillen; Mc. Quigley, of Rathcoffey; O. Lyons, of Maynooth; T. Kerghan, of Crewe-hill; and T. Frayne, of Boreen.—— Quigley and Stafford have since been apprehended and lodged in Kilmainham jail, where there are now about thirty persons confined on suspicion.——In consequence of the promotion of Mr. Justice Downes to the Chief Justiceship of Ireland, Mr. Baron Daly will go to the King's Bench, and will be succeeded by the Solicitor-General Mr. Cleland, whose place will be filled by Mr. Plunkett.——Lord Cathcart, who was appointed to succeed Gen. Fox, arrived in Dublin on the 14th inst.——Gen. Tarleton has left Ireland, and it is said, is to take the command of the Severn district in the room of H R. H Prince William of Gloucester. ——Lord Moira is appointed to the military command of Scotland. —— A grace has passed the Senate of the University of Cambridge permitting those students who belong to Volunteer Corps to be absent during the ensuing term.——His Majesty has issued a proclamation for convening parliament, for the dispatch of business, on the 22d of November. — The Mameluke Chief, Mahomed Bey Elphi Morat, accompanied by his suite, has arrived in town, to claim from this country the fulfilment of the promises which were made to the Beys, when the British army in Egypt solicited their assistance.——A printer in the neighbourhood of Tottenham-Court-Road, was taken into custody on the 14th inst. on suspicion of having printed and distributed seditious papers: some of the papers were found in his possession, and he was sent to the Secretary of State's Office for examination.——The General Fast was respectfully observed throughout the metropolis and its vicinity, where the different Volunteer Corps attended their respective churches in full uniform.—The Lords Lieutenant of the county and of the city of Edinburgh have issued a proclamation recommending the inhabitants to supply themselves with a stock of flour, oatmeal, and biscuit; because, in case of invasion it may be necessary to break up the roads, and the horses may be put in a state of requisition, and regular supplies of provision cannot then be obtained.

MILITARY.——Of the military preparations on the Continent it is almost impossible to give any satisfactory account. The intelligence from there is so irregularly received, and so imperfectly detailed, and, at the same time, so uncertain and so contradictory that no accurate notion can be formed of the number of troops which are collecting, of the precise places where they are to be assembled, or whence they are to be embarked, or of the generals by whom they are to be commanded. It is is said, however, that the French troops who occupy Hanover so far from preparing to retire, are fortifying themselves in the different posts in the Electorate, and particularly on the banks of the Elbe; that great numbers of French and Batavian troops are spread along the coasts and southern borders of the Bata-

vian Republic, and that large bodies are stationed at Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda; and in the islands of Walcheren and Cadsand where large detachments are constantly arriving, and where considerable preparations are making for defence; that the organization of the army forming between the Scheldt and the Lys goes on with great activity, that troops are marching there from the interior departments, through Brussels, Namur, and Charleroi, and that by the middle of the present month the number of troops between Ghent, Deyuse, and Bruges will amount to eighty-thousand men; that the division stationed between Dunkirk, Nieuport, and Ostend is in a state of complete arrangement; and that the army of the Pyrenees assembling at Bayonne, under the command of Angereau will amount to sixty-thousand men, to which will be added an immense park of artillery under Gens. Avril and Ducos.——It is also said, that the French troops in the Italian states bordering on the Austrian frontiers in the neighbourhood of Venice are daily increasing, and that the Emperor has directed some Hungarian regiments to join those which he has already raised in the Venetian territory; that the Gallo-Italian army is very powerful on the borders of the Adriatic, and that measures are taking to transport a large force over to the Morea.—The military preparations for defending the British coast proceed as usual.

NAVAL.——The French privateers La Caroline of eight guns and thirty-five men, and La Sophie of ten guns and forty men, which were fitted out at Harburgh in Hanover, descended the Elbe on the 18th ult. and on the 20th. came out of Cuxhaven. Captain Griffiths, who was stationed off there in his Majesty's ship Constance, got sight of them, and immediately dispatched all his boats after them, under the command of Lieut. Napier, but the wind and tide would not suffer him to attack them. The next day, however, Capt. Griffiths captured the Caroline, and sent his boats against the Sophie, who had got on shore, she struck her colours, but the sea ran so high that it was impossible to get the people out. During the night the wind changed, and she succeeded in getting off, and reached Cuxhaven.

## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEGLIGENCE OF MINISTERS.—After carrying their forbearance to a degree heretofore unheard of; after having silently borne thousands of injuries and insults, any one of which would have called forth their remonstrances against a ministry worthy of their confidence; after this long night of popular torpor and baseness, the people appear to be awakening, if not to a sense of their shame, at least, to a sense of their danger. The dawn has opened in the North, and it is to be hoped, that it will, in a little time, reach from one end of the country to the other. The County of Edinburgh have held a meeting, for the purpose of taking into consideration the means of obtaining from the Government the force necessary to the protection of their coast, which they openly declare, in printed publications, to have been "*shamefully neglected* by the ministers," and which they represent as in a state of absolute defencelessness, their "only "means of security consisting of a forty-"four gun frigate, and she lying in Leith "Road." In consequence of this, it was proposed to the meeting, by LORD MEADOWBANK, to present "an address to his "Majesty, respectfully stating the *defence-*"*less state of the coast*, and expressing their "hope, that his Majesty would take it into "his most gracious consideration." It was proposed to modify this proposition, so as to wait for an answer from the ministers, previous to the presenting an address to his Majesty; but, "the meeting *unanimously* "agreed in the necessity there was of mak-"ing a representation to Government on "the subject"*——This charge of neglect of duty has constantly been denied by the ministers and their friends; and, most people will remember, that Mr. Windham and Colonel Craufurd were most outrageously assaulted, because they, even in the month of June last, represented the country as in danger from the invading powers of the enemy. Now, one would naturally think, a little more attention would be paid to the representations of Mr. Windham and his friends; but, no; still less, perhaps; for, there is, in the mind of the coward, a perversity unknown to the minds of other men. "Seeing he will not see, and hearing "he will not hear." The time, however, must come, when the people of this country will *feel* what it is silently and basely to yield to the sway of the Addingtons and Hawkesburies; and, as *feeling* alone will have any effect on them, as feeling alone will goad them on to those exertions, by which alone they can save themselves and their posterity from indelible infamy, the sooner that time comes the better.——To return to the subject of the proceedings at

* See a sketch of the whole of the proceedings, page 554.

Edinburgh; we find that a memorial was, long ago, presented to the ministers, relative to the defenceless state of the Eastern coast of Scotland; but that, even an answer had not been received; so that, the capital of the North, an object next in importance after London and our naval arsenals, has, with the utmost indifference, been left in a state of perfect nakedness, for no better reason, perhaps, than that Mr. Addington, his family, and his colleagues, happen to have nothing to lose in Scotland. The truth, however, is, that these ignorant men begin most sorely to feel what it is to be put systematically upon the defensive in war. Naturally confused, because they are weak and altogether destitute of those talents, which rise in proportion to the demands of the public service or their resources, they are inextricably perplexed and distracted with the multiplicity of the objects around them, and the numerous applications of individuals and public bodies in various quarters, each seeing his own immediate danger and anxious to remove it from himself and from those who are dearest to him, while the ministers, who should hear, consider, judge, arrange, and combine all into one consistent whole, having nothing prepared in their own minds, having formed no general plan, and being incapable of forming any, look, like the rest, only at the part which is directly before their eyes, and contemplate London almost alone, because on the credulity of the monied men and the humour of the populace in the capital, hangs not only their continuance in office, but, perhaps, their very existence on the face of the earth.——Lord Meadowbank very properly exposes the indecency of the excuse for wanting arms, that government *did not expect such a spirit in the country*.* These are the men, who "*follow* the people!" and who anticipate from the people, whom they follow, and whom they calumniate while they attempt to flatter, nothing generous, nothing manly, nothing worthy of themselves. When, therefore, they profess, to follow the people, they, in fact, tell the world, that meanness and pusillanimity are to their own taste; for, they, at length, avow, that they expected to find in the people nothing but what is mean and pusillanimous. It was the ingenious Mr. Sheridan, who discovered for them this notable maxim of following the people. The measures for the defence of the country were not sooner adopted, said he, "because the "people *would not sooner have* borne *them*." What a fearful truth, if a truth it were!

* See Mr. Yorke's Letter, p. 497.

This argument was distinctly repeated by Mr. Addington; and, it has been still more amply dwelt on, it has been swelled quite into topic, in the pamphlet, which has lately been published and circulated under the direction of the Treasury, and at the expense of the public. "It is true," say they "that "Mr. Pitt and the Grenvilles thought a "great deal more might have been done, "and a great deal quicker. But this is the "characteristic failing and misfortune of "their *family*. For they would have had it "*their* measure, and not the *nation's*; it "would have been *their* act, and *now* it is "the *people's!*" These are exactly the sentiments of all those ministers, in all countries, in whose hands the ancient governments have fallen to pieces. And yet, these are the sentiments, this is the maxim and the rule of conduct of the men, to whom the honour and the very existence of Britain are now committed!——But, what excuse, as to the want of arms, can be grounded upon the eagerness of the people to come forward, when every one well knows, that if not a single volunteer-corps had offered, the number of arms necessary for the training under the general defence bill would have been, at least, one-fourth greater than the whole number of volunteers? The volunteers, supposing the corps all to be complete, cannot contain more than seventy-five for every hundred that were to have been brought out and trained under the defence bill; if, therefore, there are not arms enough for the volunteers, and, it is well known, that there are not, even now, more than *half enough*, where would arms have been found for the drilling under the defence bill? To state, then, the *unexpected* zeal of the people, as an excuse for not having provided a sufficiency of arms for them, is an attempt at imposition, which might have been looked for in the Addingtons and Hawkesburies, but which one cannot help lamenting to meet with in Mr. Yorke. "As to the reproach of *tardi-* "*ness*," says the Addington pamphlet, "it "can have no other source than ignorance, "or detraction; ignorance profound and "pitiable, if its authors think the ministers "*could* have brought in the bill" [the general defence bill] "*till the* PEOPLE *called* "*for it*." This is another assertion of that doctrine, which is fast democratizing the British government; but, suppose, for a moment, that the ministers *could not* have brought in a bill to arm the people, till the people themselves *called* for such a bill, most certainly no such apology can be pleaded with regard to *arms*? The providing of arms required no bill; required no *call* on the part of the people; an order from the

ordnance was all that was wanted to provide, in the course of six weeks, arms for two hundred thousand men; and yet, nearly, if not quite, one half of the volunteers, are, to this hour, destitute of arms of any kind, while many of those who are armed have only pikes, that is to say, sharp pieces of iron fastened on to the end of staves, instruments very little better than pitch-forks, wherewith to meet the balls and the bayonets of the French. To provide weapons like these required no call from the people; and, if a call had been necessary, every one will acknowledge, that it was by no means wanted; for, that the people have been continually calling for arms, from the time that war was declared t the present hour.—The answer to the Edinburgh memorial is represented, in the ministerial papers, to have been, that "Lord Keith commands on the "Northern Station, and he will send what "force he may think necessary." Thus all the responsibility is miserably attempted to be shifted on an officer, who, with a most extensive scene of operations, both offensive and defensive, from Boulogne to the Elbe and the Weser, and from the North Foreland to John o'Groat's House, has, probably, under him not half the force, which he may think barely sufficient for half the objects of his manifold duties. Add to this, that the want of cruizers is not the only, or even the principal, complaint of the people of Edinburgh. The memorial, if we may trust Lord Meadowbank, represented the superior utility of merchant vessels, fitted up as gunboats; and, to that part of the application there does not appear to have been any answer at all given. That is, most likely, left, as every other part of our defence has been, to the public-spirit of the people, or to chance.——His Lordship does, however, appear to have been misinformed as to the situation of the coast of England, which he seems to regard as in an impregnable state; but which, defenceless as is the state of the Scotch coast, has, in general, nothing to boast of by way of comparison. Norfolk has in it one regiment of militia and its quota of volunteers, and that is all: not a single company of regulars in the whole county, and the volunteers, who had no arms served out to them till since the beginning of this month, must, of course, be in an admirable state of preparation for a meeting with the legions of Buonaparté. Accordingly we see, that the people of the county are looking out for the means of flight. Edinburgh is laying in provisions for a siege; but the people of Yarmouth are preparing for the removal of their valuables and their persons. In Suffolk the state of the coast is very little more secure. Essex has a considerable number of troops in it; but not half enough. Sussex and Kent are in a better state of defence, and this is principally owing to the exertions of the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt. But, generally speaking, the situation of Scotland is full as secure as that of England; and, if we take into consideration the anxious desire, which the enemy has to reach London, Scotland is more secure. We are, all round our vast coast in absolute want of gun boats and craft of that description; and, after the repeated representations of our own naval officers, we are now *beginning* to hire packets and fishing vessels, which we are *soon to begin* to fit up with carronades, upon a plan approved of and actually adopted, by the late administration, which the present ministers, therefore, in their own way of making war by precedent, are inexcusable for not having long since copied; which they have, at last, chiefly thought of carrying into effect, on the Kentish coast, at the instance and importunities of Mr. Pitt, who is Lord Warden of those ports and shores, and who has been indefatigable in his exertions, within the limits of his jurisdiction; and which, after all, will not be ready for service, before the French, with all their want of naval means, will have completed a much larger establishment of the same kind from the very stocks.—— Let it not be said, that this is giving information to the enemy, and "inviting inva-"sion;" the example of the Edinburgh meeting, composed of gentlemen, clergy, judges, and lords, and presided over by a Duke, may surely be an example sufficient to ward off the charges even of the formidable Mr. Archdall. This gentleman, who thought proper to make a public accusation against the editor of this work, because he had, five months before the war broke out, and two months before it was known that there was any dispute existing between this country and France; because he had, even at that time, represented the state of Ireland as exposed to an attack, the patriotic Mr. Archdall charged him with conveying information to the *enemy*, while we were at peace, and with *inviting to invasion*, while we were suffering Frenchmen to come to our shores by thousands, and while the French ambassador was constantly attending at the levee at St. James's. It would be curious to know what sort of sentiment this gentleman entertains of the conduct of the meeting at Edinburgh, where an exact description of the defenceless state of the coast was made and published, and yet where it does not appear that the persons making such description wished to invite the French to their shores.

The fact is, that their object was precisely what the object of the Register was, with respect to Ireland; to prevail on the ministers to make better preparations of defence; and, if this object had been accomplished, it is very probable that the rebellion in Dublin and the death of Ld. Kilwarden would have been prevented. But, it is a standing trick with all guilty ministers and their partizans to accuse of conveying information to the enemy, all those who expose the imbecility or wickedness of their characters or their measures; so that, the greater is the danger in which they place the country, and the more likely they are totally to ruin it, the more silent we must be; and, to say the truth, this is the practice which has invariably prevailed in those countries, where the people, after a long series of blind and cowardly submission, have witnessed the overthrow of their government and their laws. Lord Meadowbank was particularly careful to "disclaim "*all idea of faction*," which appeared to be not very necessary, at a time, when he was accusing the ministers of having "*shamefully*-"*ly neglected* the security of the country." Why this superabundant caution? Why talk of *faction* at all? No apology of this sort would have been made towards a ministry of talents. Why are the inefficient and selfish mortals, who have brought on us danger and disgrace such as no nation upon earth ever before endured; why are these men, who have absolutely bartered their country for the emoluments of their places; why, of all the ministries that the country ever saw, why are they alone to be spared? The reason is, we are a fallen people, we are a base people, and we love these low and little minded men, because they resemble ourselves. There was a time, when one did hope to see them chased from their ill-gotten power; but, when, after they had put an end to their 381 days of peace by a new war, ostensibly begun for the *possession* of one of the objects, which the arms of the nation had before conquered, and which it *still possessed*; when after the affair of the Cape and of Swisserland we saw the nation still enamoured of their sway, there was but very little hope left; and, most assuredly, it has not been augmented by recent events.—With some of those, who support, or who, at least, do not oppose, the ministers, the excuse is, that *this* is not the time to change; a change now would create *confusion*; stay till the *danger is over*, and then we will call for their dismission.——Stay till the ship is aground, or sunk, and then we will change the pilot! Stay till the battle is lost, stay till we are defeated, and then we will change the general! Stay till the enemy has burnt our metropolis and our dock-yards, stay till we are plunged into beggary and ruin, stay till our property is placed in requisition, and till our persons are in chains, and then we will call for a change of ministry! Oh! cowardice, at once how fertile and how foolish thou art!——"Stay till the *danger is over!*" Why the danger will never be over, while these ministers are in power; and, if they continue long in power, their power will end with the existence of the Monarchy. "Stay till the *danger is over!*" why their being in place constitutes the danger. You may as well talk of staying till your wound is cured, before you extract the ball. "Till the dan-"ger is *over*," indeed! The danger is hardly begun: that Illiad of Woes, which, as Mr. Windham observed, began with the treaty of Amiens, will, it is greatly to be feared, never end, till those who left England in 1800, will, upon their return, scarcely believe that they are in England. Nothing can save us from the dreadful horrors, which menace us, but a change and a speedy change, in the ministry. Not a paltry patching up; not a miserable bargaining for places and pensions, and titles; but a radical change upon principle, a change that will embrace all the great character and talents of the country, a change that will inspire respect and confidence both abroad and at home. Such a change might, and would, save this country, but nothing else will, or can save it; and, if the present ministers continue in power, for only a little while longer, no change that can be made will be of any avail. In discussions of this sort, it is always of advantage to know the opinion of foreigners, who are not only likely to be impartial; but who are, in some respects, the only judges to whom we can appeal. From the continent of Europe no political publications reach us, except in German and in French. The opinions which the latter circulate, relative to the British ministry cannot, at present, be regarded as impartial, though it may be observed, that if even an enemy constantly expresses his *contempt* of you, it is very little to your credit. In the German papers, the ministers are uniformly spoken of as low ignorant men, unworthy of trust or confidence of any sort; and, at Berlin and Vienna, "Monsieur le Docteur A Daindon" is a standing jest. What the Americans think of them will appear from a passage, selected with no great pains from many that are to be found on the same subject in the news-papers lately received:—"To succeed in the present war "England must strain every nerve in her "frame: nothing less than the combined "wisdom, genius and spirit, and above all "the virtue of her very best and most virtu-

" ous statesmen, giving effect to the whole " physical force of the country, can afford " reasonable expectation of success. If she " goes to war with these advantages, Eng- " land has the means of being again what " she was in the time of Louis XIV. the " rampart of the independence of Europe, " and the scourge of a tyrant. But *if* is a " word which often causes us to sigh. In " her statesmen, as it seems to be the will " of the Sovereign at present to have them, " we see every thing to cast a cloud over " this last hope of Europe. Natural imbe- " cility of heart and head, the habitual vices " of the mere trading politician, will be but " a wretched substitute for such qualities as " he must have who grapples with France " at this day. They may be assured that " corruption and cunning, and all the low " tricking of court circumvention (and those " are the whole *budget*, the whole *ways and* " *means* of the persons to whom we allude) " will neither bribe, nor deceive, nor out- " wit, nor circumvent BUONAPARTE: we " hope, at least we wish, it may not be so: " If the gigantic power, cunning, and fero- " city of the ruler of France is to be encoun- " tered, it is not by a milk-and-water mix- " ture of court vice and apathy that it ought " to be attempted. Never was there pre- " sented to the moral eye a more glorious " spectacle than such a hideous object en- " countered and vanquished by wisdom and " virtue. Those Great Britain can supply, " if its Sovereign will afford them."* Now, however, the Addingtons and Hawkesburies may affect to disregard the opinion here given of them, it behoves the country to consider how fatal it must be to its interests and to its reputation to be under the sway of men, whom all the world are unanimous in despising. It is easy to perceive, that the writer of the essay, from which this extract is taken, is not only a man of talents, and a politician, but that he is, moreover, a friend of Great Britain and an enemy of France, as far, at least, as relates to the present contest; of such a person, totally unconnected with parties and persons here, the opinion must, by all reasonable men, be considered as of great weight. It is, too, the opinion of a whole nation, and that nation more closely connected with us, and knowing us better than any other on the earth. Where, then, shall we look for an excuse? All the world sees our shame; all the world is shocked at our baseness; every where our friends hang their heads, and our enemies are filled with exultation. In short, we bear all the marks of a degenerate fall ng people, and we excite those various feelings, which, in different breasts, such a spectacle usually excites.

THE FAST.—On solemn occasions, like this, great care ought to be taken not to suffer any inconsistency to appear in our conduct. The public will remember, and the world will not forget, that the nation, the very persons, whom, in our prayers, we are *now* representing as " men, who have *cast off* " *their faith in God*, and, following the vain " imaginations of reprobate minds, have " plunged themselves into *crimes and im-* " *pieties*, which astonish the nations of the " earth;" it will be remembered, that, on the 1st of June, 1802, only 476 days ago, we held a public thanksgiving for the blessing of having made peace with the French, and, moreover, that we did earnestly beseech the Almighty to " *give us grace* to be *reunited* in " the bands of *Christian* charity" with the men, with the very men, whom we *now*, in the face of heaven, characterise as reprobate infidels!—It will not do to say, that the French have become infidels *since* the thanksgiving of 1802; for, it is well known, that, in whatever degree they have changed, the change has been in favour of Christianity.—Further comment is useless. Were not the people besotted with fear and with selfishness, they would long ago have perceived, that church as well as state, that every thing, profane or sacred, is made the instrument, the sport of ministerial vanity and emolument.

THE FUNDS have, we are told, risen one per cent. in consequence of a report, that the soldiers of the French army had *refused* to embark for the invasion of England! And, is there a father, not insane, who will vest his children's means of existence in property like this? If the Funds rise one per cent. upon such a rumour, to what point will they sink, if the French army should not only embark, but actually land in England, and advance towards London, than which there is nothing more probable?

THE MILITARY APPOINTMENTS to the chief commands, in Scotland and Ireland, have been dictated by motives of party intrigue rather than by any other consideration. Lord Moira is not only removed out of the House of Lords, but is banished from the court of the Prince. It was foreseen, that " every exertion would " be made to undermine the influence of " the Prince, and to lessen the number of " his adherents." No compliment, therefore, is paid either to Lord Moira or to the Scotch, in appointing that nobleman to command the district north of the Tweed.

* From the Charleston (South Carolina) Courier of the 30th of June, 1803.

——When, or where Lord Cathcart acquired the talents and experience necessary for the chief command in Ireland, at a time like the present, is a question, which, it is believed, very few will be able to solve. "His Lordship *served* during the "American war," say the ministerial newspapers. He did; and he actually served in America too; but, most persons, when they hear, that his whole service consisted in being acting quarter-master general for nine months, during which space of time he *netted*, as the shop-keepers call it, *fifty thousand pounds;* most persons, when they hear this, will acknowledge, that the experience his Lordship acquired in America, is not very well calculated for the scene where his knowledge is now to be displayed. Since his Lordship's American services, he has been chiefly engaged in riding from Windsor Castle to Frogmore, or in attending the gala-days at St. James's. It was, probably, right not to send over Lord Cornwallis, since his Lordship was well known to be obnoxious to a considerable portion of the people; but, as it was also well known, that he favoured the Catholic cause, he should not have been *asked* to go, unless it had been previously resolved to accede, in some degree, at least, to the prayers of the Catholics; because, to break off the negotiation with him, upon such grounds, was to plunge the Catholics into despair, and to render discontent interminable.——Lord Cathcart is, we must suppose, an honourable man, but we are certain that he is a mere court attendant; and, as to his talents, military or otherwise, no one will deny, that his letter to Lord Titchfield, relative to the fortification of London, affords very little ground of confidence to those, who are now committed to his wisdom.——But, Lord Cathcart was, doubtless, ready to adopt, and to act upon, the *politics* of the ministers, with respect to Ireland, an acquiescence which, perhaps, would not have been found in any commander of experience and of high military reputation. Let the whole nation be asked, one by one, who ought to have been sent to Ireland, and the unanimous answer will be, General Lord Hutchison; but General Lord Hutchison would not have answered the *political* purpose of the ministers, and, therefore, he is suffered to remain, where, indeed, he may be wanted, but where his place might have been supplied.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL are, it seems, at last to be numbered amongst our enemies. Spain should have been so long enough ago. Portugal will be a rich prize to France; and, though subjugation will not be a pleasant state to the Portuguese, those amongst them, who feel a due degree of resentment against us for our perfidy at the treaty of Amiens, when we consented to the alienation of a part of Portugal in favour of Spain, in order that we might retain a Spanish Island; every Portuguese that recollects Olivenza and Trinidad, will feel, even in his chains, some consolation, when he reflects that his slavery is injurious to England.—— It was vainly hoped, that we should grow rich by an uninterrupted warfare on the commerce and colonies of France and her allies. This harvest of riches appears to be over with us, while France is placing whole kingdoms in a state of requisition. She holds up the spectre of invasion to petrify us, while she sends her armies into every corner of Europe, where we have a friend. The power of Britain was always considered as most usefully employed in protecting her allies. It was, indeed, only by the proper exercise of this power that she kept up her trade, and maintained her influence, consequence, and rank in the world. This power she can no longer exercise; she, in fact, no longer possesses it; it was, at Amiens, bartered away with the honour of her flag.——Is it said, that it is impossible for us to have protected Hanover and Portugal without the aid of other allies on the Continent? If so, why have we not those other allies? We were never destitute of them till now. It is of the not having of such allies that the nation has a right to accuse the ministers, who are, in this respect, pleading the heaviest of all their crimes in justification of its consequences.

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NOTICES.

*** It is hoped, that Ireland and Scotland both pressing upon us this week will be a sufficient apology to Mr. Sheridan for the omission of a letter to him. It will certainly have a place in the next sheet.

☞ The Supplement to Vol. III. of the Register has been published some time. It contains a complete and extended Parliamentary Register for the last session, much more complete than any hitherto published. It has a title, table of contents, index of matters, of names, and of places, for the whole volume.—N. B. The Volume entire, as well as the two preceding ones, may be had complete, ready bound, of MR. BUDD, who has succeeded Mr. Harding, at No. 100, Pall Mall.

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